1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

that the occupants had been practically exterminated by the Sioux "near 140 years ago," that some young squaws and children were saved by the captors and that among their descendants was Medicine Bear, the well known Yanktonais chief of thirty years ago. As the Mandans are known to have been located at and across from Bismarck (at Mandan) some twenty years before Lewis and Clarke visited them, this Sioux tradition imparted to Taylor seems to further tend to show that the Mandans were driven up the Missouri from below Mandan by the Sioux. Dr. Cyrus A. Peterson, president of the Missouri Historical Society, is understood to have entertained the belief that the Mandans were traced by the remains of their habitations, and that they were thought to have lived along the central Missouri. Dr. Eastman, himself a Sioux Indian who was reared among them and who in his boyhood days wandered with members of his tribe over large areas of country, affirms that the Yanktonais Sioux traditions are to the effect that the Mandans inhabited the lower James river and other Missouri river country on the east side, which tradition is regarded as having existed some two hundred years. Little Owl, a Mandan Indian on the Fort Berthold reservation, and living in 1905 on the southeast side of the Missouri about four miles below the mouth of the Little Missouri, was interviewed, through an interpreter, by the writer of this article; and in giving an account of the traditional ancient habitat of his tribe stated that Bear-on-the-Water, who he said is "the oldest man," says they came from where the Mississippi empties into the sea; spoke of a "boat without oars" (sailboat?) in which they could go across the sea, "or anywhere on the water, up-stream or anywhere;" that the Mandans came all the way up the river to Heart river; that the villages down the river to the Mississippi that had ditches around them were Mandan villages; that one of the Mandan villages (bands) went north from the Heart river to Winnipeg, etc. Bear's Ghost, another Indian in the same neighborhood, interviewed the same day, and who claimed to be a full-blood Mandan, but who disclaimed having such information as certain older men whom he named possessed in the premises, entered into the traditional account of the origin of the Mandans, which seems to have involved the creation of things in general; and he declared it was "in the mouth of the sea, where this river (Missouri) empties into the sea" that the two "men" who made the earth, etc., met,

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ent villages, and it is no illusion to call one village a Mandan, and the other an Aricaree village of old. 172 361

"Such particulars have slipped the observation of early travelers, as they were looking more for the very goods, the Indians and for their places of habitation, and have overlooked abandoned places. Lewis and Clarke also do not mention any such abandoned village as there is the site on Sec. 30 and 31, 143, 81.

" As far as I have got in the location of villages, camps and cemeteries I have forty-five in number marked on the map, a few more to be added."

*(A map which he is preparing for the State Historical Society of North Dakota, see L.)

Under date of March 19th, 1907, Mr. Steinbreuck further states: 361 167

"I do not believe the Aricarees moved down the Missouri very far, since their quarrel with the Mandans. They put one river between them and the Mandans, the Cannon-Ball. Lewis and Clarke found them above Grand river. Some of the Aricarees stayed with their allies, the Mandans, and moved up stream with them from their villages near the Heart. The larger part moved up later between 1804 and 1833. I have found now forty-three villages from five miles below. Standing Rock agency, up to above Knife river, including three Hidatsa villages. Some of the villages are later than 1804, and are determinedly of Aricaree origin. Further no mention is made of those later villages by Lewis and Clarke."

Writer's Visit to Fort Berthold and Mandans. "On September 5th-7th, 1905, he who presents this paper went to Old Fort Berthold and beyond, to Elbowoods, N. D., for the purpose of gaining, if possible, some further impressions of the Mandans and of interviewing some of the leading men of the tribe on the reservation within whose limits they were living. An account of that trip, as regards the Aricarees—who were also the objective of the visit—is found in Vol. III, of the South Dakota History Collections, pages 572-583. 000

"Rev. C. L. Hall, who had been for about thirty years and still is Missionary of the Congregational Missionary Society among the Indians at that reservation, very kindly entertained and materially assisted the writer while there. That point, some twenty 621 124

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

621 miles west of the site of Old Fort Berthold, is yet known as the Fort Berthold Indian agency, and all of the instrumentalities of ●124 the agency, including an Indian school, were centered there, although the agency had been officially discontinued June 30, 1904. But, as stated in Part I of this paper in the account of the Aricarees, the Indians themselves were so completely separated from each other as forming tribal communities as to have erased all semblance of their former tribal relations, and had in fact taken lands in severalty and become citizens. The writer was able to interview but two Mandans in the brief time covered by his visit to that quarter, and was obliged to cross the Missouri and seek them on the southwesterly side of that stream at a point some seven miles below the mouth of the Little Missouri. Through the solicitude of Rev. Hall, and of Hon. Anzi W. Thomas, late Indian agent, an interpreter, who was assistant farmer at the agency, was furnished the writer in connection with the interviews of the Indians Bear's Ghost and Little Owl—two Mandans who were pointed out by Rev. Hall and others as likely to be able to impart information concerning the traditions of their tribe, though neither was an old man; nor was it possible to find an aged member of the tribe near the agency headquarters. Furthermore, there seemed to be no very old member of the former band or tribe within the reservation who was conspicuous as the possessor of the tribal history and traditions in an eminent degree. However, those who were interviewed were evidently equipped to intelligently communicate the seemingly common story of the creation, the flood, etc., as it was understood by the Mandans.

773 "It will be seen that these Indians had no definite information in the nature of tradition as to their origin; but there runs through the narrative an unmistakable thread of marine experience in passing from somewhere beyond the sea or the Mississippi into the interior; as found in the account of the boat 'without the oars'—(indicating, it is believed, sailing vessels)—the 'other Mandans' who came from 'down under the earth,' the first or 'lone man' who while wandering met the 'Coyote' from the south and together they fashioned the whole landscape, made the inhabitants of earth and air; while the 'Corn Mother' who was revered as the symbol of germination and growth, the buffalos representing the four seasons, the ducks which brought earth from under

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

INTRODUCTION

THE Mandan are a small Siouan-speaking tribe who in 1910 numbered 197, according to the government census. In 1929 the writer collected data on lodge groups at Fishhook Village for the period 1870–72 from the information of a number of older Mandan and found that they considered forty-three households with a population of three hundred and nineteen as Mandan. Of this number, some of the individuals were Arikara, Hidatsa, and even Crow. Nevertheless, the household was considered to be Mandan because of the participation of the individuals of the household in the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan.

This study of the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan was made during a six-month visit to the Fort Berthold Reservation in 1930 and 1931. The census of lodge groups at the last village of Fishhook for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa was prepared from the data supplied by several of the older informants. Pertinent information on sacred bundles owned and offices filled by the various individuals was recorded. Genealogies were prepared from the data obtained from the census and the inheritance of bundle and other ceremonial rights. This preliminary study, made by the writer in 1929 for Beloit College and under the immediate supervision of Dr. George L. Collie, indicated that much of the aboriginal culture could be reconstructed. The Logan Museum of Beloit College conducted archeological studies of documented Mandan village sites during the period when this study was made, and native informants were especially helpful in identifying numerous traditional sites and interpreting archeological data.

While preparing the census and genealogies of the Mandan, no especial effort was made to record sacred rites. Informants offered little resistance to the recording of data on the possession of these bundles or the order of their inheritance. When the recording of the sacred myths and rites was undertaken, the writer was acquainted with all his informants. Tom Smith, who

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

served as interpreter, was exceedingly helpful in planning the study of the ceremonies. Resistance to the divulging of sacred lore was anticipated. He indicated those who would be least likely to co-operate. Work was begun with Christianized informants. Before recording a ceremony, additional information on the household not brought out in recording the census was obtained. Employing genealogies based on household groups, it

FIG. 3.—Dance of the Goose Society

was possible in nearly every instance to determine both the former villages at Fort Clark and the older villages near Heart River of which the older people of the households were descendants. This information was important in determining cultural differences between the old villages.

The writer used fourteen informants for this study; eleven of these were Mandan and three were Hidatsa of the Awaxawi band. The six Mandan male informants were White Calf, Crows Heart, Ben Benson, Bear on the Flat, Foolish Woman, and Little Owl. The female informants were Scattercorn, Mrs. Good Bear, Calf Woman, Mrs. Owen Baker, and Front Woman. Wolf Chief and Mrs. White Duck supplied information on the Okipa and Corn ceremonies that had reached them through intermar-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

riage with the Mandan. Bears Arm supplied information on Eagle-trapping Rites.

As the study progressed, less resistance to divulging sacred lore was encountered except in the recording of the People Above rites. The omission or incompleteness of data for some of the rites is due to the shortness of the period of study and the failure of the writer to recognize the significance of some of the rites in interpreting the ceremonial life until the study was nearly completed or while analyzing the data after leaving the field. By that time those who could have supplied the information had died. Additional information on the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan, particularly eagle-trapping, was obtained while making a study of the Hidatsa for the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago under the supervision of Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole in 1932 and 1933. Beloit College transferred the field notes on the Mandan to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago in 1940, and the section on Mandan ceremonial organization was prepared at that time. The writer worked with Crows Heart, now ninety-two years of age and the only survivor of the original group of informants, during the summer of 1947 recording his autobiography. At that time the section dealing with the social organization was checked with him.

In the preparation of this manuscript, the writer has attempted to record as fully as possible the myths relating to the ceremony. At times these myths, because of their exceeding length, make reading difficult. However, were the myths removed from their proper context, the meaning of the various rites and practices of the ceremony would be lost. The introductory chapter is a brief summary taken from two other manuscripts recently prepared by the writer. These are: "Archeology of the Upper Missouri" and "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa." These manuscripts may be examined at the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago. I have purposely avoided reference to cultural similarities to neighboring tribal groups other than to indicate broad cultural similarities with the Hidatsa.

In the brief recording of native terms the writer has employed the symbols used by Kennard in his report on "Mandan Gram-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 778 at the time of the first thunder. The Eagle-trapping bundle rites were still being performed, and a few old people doctored those who were ill or had suffered an accident.

796 778 •124 The secret character of Mandan ceremonialism contributed to the difficulty of the study. Each Mandan ceremony was secret, and rules providing for the performance of and acquaintance with the secret rites differed somewhat between bundles. In general, it was not possible to complete the study of a ceremony with a single informant, owing to overlapping rights in the bundle, one informant being unwilling to divulge information belonging to another.

This study doubtlessly does not cover all ceremonies performed by the Mandan after 1837. Informants claim that all tribal rites were preserved through the smallpox epidemics of 1782 and 1837. It was possible to obtain intelligible accounts of all rites mentioned by early travelers to the Mandan villages. There was, however, a reduction in the number of duplicate bundles for the same ceremony. When reductions occurred, the original bundle was preserved. The individual rites introduced from time to time by the medium of vision instruction were usually of short duration in the tribe and died out before becoming inaugurated into the tribal ceremonial structure. A few instances of vision bundle experiences are cited in chapter v, "Personal Bundles and Vision Experiences." Had time permitted, several hundred vision experiences could have been recorded, since they were related on many social and ceremonial occasions. Informants never volunteered to relate the sacred myths or to supply data on a ceremony, nor did they volunteer information to the effect that they owned certain rights. They would, however, divulge the names of others having knowledge of tribal bundles. The writer found that better co-operation was received from an informant when a simple feast was made to the bundle. It removed the fear informants felt when relating the rites.

[787]

The writer was impressed with the extreme conservatism of the Mandan. Informants frequently requested a retranslation of a significant portion of a rite to make certain that it had been properly recorded. They recognized variations in myths be-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

tween bundle lines. Some informants thought that these bundles must have originated in different villages because their older people who were living when the tribe occupied two villages had spoken of ceremonial differences between the villages. They believed that these ceremonial differences went back to mythological times when the ceremonies were first taught to the people.

Mandan tribal sacred bundles had these elements in common: each contained objects representing the characters and incidents of the myth; the rites were dramatizations of the sacred myths; there were prescribed rules of behavior when in the presence of the bundle or while it was open; an incense was always burned while the bundle rites were being performed or when the rites were terminated; there were songs and a sacred myth which belonged to the bundle; each bundle included a buffalo skull; the ritualistic lore was secret, and payment must be made to the bundle-owner for a knowledge of the rites; there were fixed rules of inheritance for the sale and transfer of the bundle; tribal sanction of a bundle transfer was at a public feast to which those owning related bundles were invited; feasts were made to the bundle by nonowners as a social obligation; and bundle-owners on occasion would give Bundle Renewal feasts to their own bundles to which were invited those owning important tribal bundles.

The Mandan recognize four seasons which were associated with the spring, summer, autumn, and winter buffalo. Since informants could not agree on any other division of the year, it is highly unlikely that they recognized any other uniform divisions. The year count was important in relating events. Ceremonies were, in general, evenly divided over the year. Ceremonies for success in warfare or doctoring were held at any time. On the other hand, rites relating to agriculture were begun in late winter when the first water birds appeared and were held throughout the summer until the southern flight of these birds had passed. The Okipa was always held during the warmest months, while the Snow Owl, Red Stick, and White Buffalo Cow ceremonies to bring the winter buffalo herds were always held

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

eat those he had sent dreams to or those who had his bundles and gave feasts or offerings of goods to him regularly. The presence of so many bundle lines, both original and secondary, surviving the smallpox of 1837, indicates the popularity of such bundles.

This was a very difficult bundle ceremony to secure information about. All tribal ceremonies were secret. The difficulty in securing information on this ceremony was based on fear of death. Calf Woman explained that, since she had joined the church and was not likely to sell rights in her other bundles four times, she was always willing to explain things in her other bundles. She had described everything Wilson and Lowie asked of her and never felt fear of the loss of good fortune.[2] She added:

> I showed you the masks yesterday that belonged in the Okipa ceremony. Of course, I smoked pine branches before I opened the bundle, but I always do that. I don't feel the same way about the Peope Above bundle. The Moon in the bundle doesn't worry me, but Sun is an evil spirit. He brought death to our warriors. My first husband was killed on the warpath even though his father and mother had a People Above bundle which together with my husband's sisters we would have had rights had he lived. So, you see, sometimes the Sun will even kill his own. It may be that the Sun had already blessed the enemy and adopted him as a son was why my husband was killed. This Old Woman Above is mean, but she is fair. Her daughter is evil; she causes men to leave their wives and little children; she causes insanity, fits, and feeblemindedness. People are always careful to follow the rules belonging to these bundles, or their neighbors blame them when someone breaks a leg or has a tree fall on him. I worried last night because I had promised to tell you the myth.

Wolf Chief expressed the same fears when asked to explain the Hidatsa ceremony to Woman Above. That there was a rich ritualism connected with these bundles is evident from isolated data appearing in other sacred myths. There are a number of qualified informants, but to date it has been impossible to secure complete information from them. Variations no doubt existed between villages and even in bundle lines within the same village, but this could not be determined, since such information was not obtainable from Calf Woman.

Bundle purchase followed the normal tribal pattern. The instruction was directly between seller and buyer, which, when completed, was followed by a medicine feast at the time the transfer was made. Attendance was limited to persons with

2. Gilbert L. Wilson and Robert H. Lowie.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

were sought, since these women went out at night, according to the myths, to fight and to incite fights between the Mandan and their own people or the enemy in order to have people to eat. They were described as cannibals in all the myths.

The peculiar ceremonial pattern and traditional history of the bundle, in a large measure, explained the general knowledge of the myths belonging to the ritual. The bundle-owner and his wives could sell the story. Owners of all bundles in which were represented Holy Women, consisting of Buffalo Woman, Old Woman Above (Sun's mother), Woman in Dog Den Buttes, Old Woman Who Never Dies, and Striped Scalp (Sun's sister), were included in this group. Traditionally, the myth survived when the Hidatsa sold the bundle. Those who had bought the right to hear the story could in turn retell when payment was made. Those who had made offerings to the robe could learn the story and retell it upon payment of goods. The bundle was normally transferred from parents to sons and daughters if they were living and wanted it; otherwise to a daughter and her husband, inheritance being in the Prairie Chicken clan. Transfer was made at a public feast, but the preliminary instructions were direct between buyer and seller and in secret. The people of the Prairie Chicken clan of Awatixa and the Mandan villages claimed rights to the bundle.

When doing ethnological work with Mandan informants, it was evident that there was no hesitation in giving information on this ceremony, as was the case with the People Above ceremony. There was no reference to punishing people with insanity, paralysis, and other afflictions, as was the case with the People Above mythology, in spite of the fact that the female characters represented were believed to be members of the Holy Women band. These women, although cannibals and evil in character, were often represented in the mythology as kind, sending fog to conceal their movements while they brought meat into the Mandan villages and loaded down the corn scaffolds during times of famine. People were not permitted to speak in a loud voice in the lodge where the bundle was kept, and mice that ran over it were said to have died.

During the last century the bundle and its owners have occupied an important place in the traditional history of the Man-

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

PREFACE.

121 The Hidatsa, while most closely related to the Crow, have been in close contact with the Mandan for so long a period that the culture of all three tribes must be considered in conjunction. That is to say, it is impossible to acquire an accurate picture of Hidatsa life without taking into account, on the one hand, the persistence of old elements characteristic of the parent tribe before its division into Crow and Hidatsa and, on the other hand, the influence exerted by the Mandan subsequently to the Crow separation. Our information on the Mandan, for reasons stated below, is tantalizingly meager and suggests rather than solves problems. Fortunately, the Crow data are sufficiently extensive to permit a comparison of their social culture with that of the Hidatsa and to make possible a reconstruction of their pristine organization. In a previous paper of this series issued in 1912 (Vol. IX, part II) I dealt with the "Social Life of the Crow Indians." Since its appearance I have paid several visits to this people and have secured much additional information, which partly confirms and in part supplements and amends my earlier results. I have naturally devoted much more space to the new material but found it necessary to summarize briefly some facts previously described.

124 A few words may be in place regarding the method followed in illustrating the use of Crow kinship terms. It has become clear to students that relationship nomenclature harbors innumerable pitfalls for the field investigator. These can be minimized only by utilizing every possible means of checking the information obtained. We must not content ourselves with abstract statements nor even with the confirmation supplied by a genealogical scheme but should determine the use to which terms are put by the native when not harried by ethnological questioning, when, in other words, he is in a perfectly normal and naïve position with reference to his tribesmen. One way to do this is to keep one's ears open in Indian households when not ostensibly engaged in belaboring the aboriginal consciousness; another equally effective one is to collect systematically the evidence yielded by mythological texts. It is even possible to make use of myths taken down in English provided the recorder insists on noting down in the vernacular every relationship term that occurs.

114 The Hidatsa and Mandan were visited in the summers of 1910, 1911, and 1913, while my acquaintance with the Crow dates back to 1907 and has been frequently renewed since.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

June 15, 1917.

[p. 2 is blank]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NO17 Mandan NQ17

perhaps more, villages. They call themselves Numangkake (*i. e.*, men), and if they wish to particularize their descent, they add the name of the village whence they came originally. Some, for instance, call themselves Sipuske-Numangkake, the men of the pheasant or prairie hens, from the village Sipuska-Mihte, pheasant village; others, Mato-Numangkake, the men of the bear, from the village Mato-Mihte, bear village, &c. &c. Another general name of this people is Mahna-Narra, the sulky, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri.

The early history of the Mandans is involved in obscurity; their own traditions and legends will be discussed in the sequel, when treating on their religious ideas. They affirm that they descend originally from the more eastern nations, near the sea-coast.* Though the above-named villages do not all exist at this time, these Indians still call themselves by their several names. They formerly dwelt near the Heart River: when Charbonneau arrived here at the end of the last century, the two Mandan villages, which are still standing, were about six or eight miles further down the Missouri. The small-pox and the assaults of their enemies have so reduced this people, that the whole number now reside in two villages, in the vicinity of Fort Clarke. These two villages are Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush (the southern village), about 300 paces above Fort Clarke, and on the same side of the river, and Rnhptare,† about three miles higher up, likewise on the same bank. The first had, at the time of our visit, sixty-five huts, and contained about 150 warriors; the other, thirty-eight huts and eighty-three warriors. According to this, the tribe had not more than 230 or 240 warriors; and, on the whole, scarcely 900 or 1000 souls; Dr.

* Warden is mistaken when he says (Vol. III. p. 559), that the Mandans are descended from the Crows; for this is applicable to the Manitaries, of whom we shall speak afterward.

† Lewis and Clarke write this name Rooptahee, which is incorrect. (See Account of their Journey, Vol. I. p. 120.) These celebrated travellers passed the winter among the Mandans, and give many particulars respecting them, which, on the whole, are correct; but their proper names and words from the Mandan and Manitari languages are, in general, inaccurately understood and written. It is said, they derived their information from a person named Jessaume, who spoke the language very imperfectly, as we were assured everywhere on the Missouri. Of this kind are many of the names mentioned by those travellers, which neither the Indians nor the Whites were able to understand; for instance, Ahnahaways (Vol. I. p. 115), a people who are said to have formerly dwelt between the Mandans and the Manitaries; likewise Mahowha, where the Arwacahwas lived (*ibid.*); the fourth village is said to have been called Menharta, and to have been inhabited by Manitaries (*ibid.*); of all these names, except, perhaps, Mahowha, which ought probably to be Machaha, nobody could give us the slightest information, not even Charbonneau, though he has lived here so many years. It is necessary to be much on your guard against bad interpreters, and I acted in this respect with much caution. All the information given by me, respecting Indian words and names, was carefully written down from the statements of sensible, well-informed men of these nations. I have endeavoured to write down their language exactly, according to its real pronunciation, in doing which, the German guttural sounds were of great assistance to me, as it is that of the Missouri Indians. Mr. Kipp and Charbonneau, with some others who have lived long among these Indians, daily assisted me, during a long winter, with much patience and kindness, in this work.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Fig. 15. As soon as the ice in the rivers breaks up, they run to the banks and throw this interlaced hoop into the water. In the summer time the Mandans and Manitaries often amuse themselves with races in the prairie, for which they have the best opportunity in the vicinity of their villages; twenty young men, or more, often run at once, and on these occasions there is always high betting. Some of them are very swift runners, and can hold out a long time. 526

The Mandans and Manitaries are extremely superstitious, and all their important actions are guided by such motives. They have most strange ideas of surrounding nature, believe in a multitude of different beings in the heavenly bodies; offer sacrifices to them; invoke their assistance on every occasion; howl, lament, fast, inflict on themselves cruel acts of penance, to propitiate these spirits; and, above all, lay very great stress upon dreams. Some of their traditions have a resemblance to the revelations of the Bible; for instance, Noah's Ark and the Deluge, the history of Samson, &c. The question here arises whether these particulars have not been gradually introduced among them, from their intercourse with Christians, and this seems highly probable. If they have not yet embraced the Christian religion, it would, however, appear that they have adopted some portions which strike them as being either remarkable or interesting.* The belief in a future life, or a better state of things after death, exists among all the American nations; this is confirmed by D'Orbigny (Voyages, tom. iii. p. 90), who justly blames Azara for denying all religious ideas to the people of Paraguay. In order to obtain correct information respecting all their traditions and ideas, we persuaded Dipauch† to enliven our long winter evenings by his narratives, which he readily agreed to do. He spoke with much seriousness and gravity, and I had a most excellent interpreter in Mr. Kipp. I give these narratives, which are often extremely silly, as they were written down from his communications, though I must beg my reader's patience and indulgence. It was not possible to curtail them or to choose only the more interesting parts, since all their traditions and legends have a certain connexion, and really possess some influence on the actual mode of life of this people. 771 771 124

According to Dipauch, these Indians believe in several superior beings, of whom the lord of life, Ohmahank-Numakshi, is the first, the most exalted and the most powerful; who created the earth, man, and every existing object.‡ They believe that he has a tail, and appears sometimes 776 773

* This conjecture is adopted by Dr. Edwin James, the learned author of Tanner's Life among the Indians, p. 357 of that work. I refer to this interesting book for the remarkable hieroglyphics of the people of the Algonquin tribe.

† Dipauch is a very distinguished man, and might have been a chief long ago if he had pleased, as he possesses all the necessary qualifications. His father was shot by the Sioux during Lewis and Clarke's winter residence among these Indians. These travellers offered to assist the Mandans against their enemies, and to take the field with them, to which, however, they would not consent.

‡ Brackenridge, p. 71, is very much mistaken in believing that the Mandans and Manitaries worship only buffalo heads, &c, if the latter are medicine, it is incontrovertibly true that they believe in a number of superior beings who make a figure in their mythology.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

601
191

form a reciprocal system and do not conform to expected white usage, for example, an individual whom you address as uncle may call you cousin or brother rather than nephew. It is an egocentric system and is used only when an individual in Lone Hill finds himself in a situation in which he is forced to speak English. All but two of the 137 adults of the village are bilingual, as they speak English in addition to the Indian language. English is most often learned in government schools as a second language and is used by the Indian people to deal with the outside world: in contact with Indian Bureau employees, local white merchants, or when members of alien tribes visit or marry into the village.

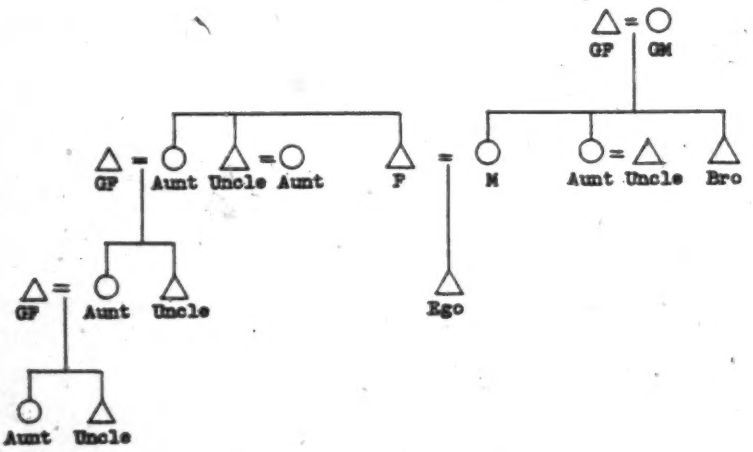

FIG. 2

601
191
177
124

The second major kinship pattern in Lone Hill consists of cases in which English terms are used in the white generation pattern, as indicated in Figure 3. My observations indicate that the generational system was used only by seven acculturated families. Many of the individuals in these families have spent most of their lives away from the village in off-reservation schools. The system was checked in formal interviews with six people, all between the ages of 20 and 30. In one instance a father's brother was called a cousin rather than an uncle because, as my informant said, "He is too young to be my uncle." The situations in which the generational system is employed tend to be relatively restricted and occur when acculturated individuals relate to one another, their close relatives, and whites in or outside the village.

601
177
191

An additional kinship complication arises in those homes in which a member of an alien tribe—usually Crow, Sioux, Blackfoot, or Arikara—marries a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village. No schedule can be given here as there is no general pattern, but one case will be briefly described as an illustration.

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

It is to be emphasized that individuals in Lone Hill do not become acculturated by chance; their parents consciously and actively prepare them for a life in the white world. To be "white-oriented" is not sufficient. Almost all the adult Indian people in Lone Hill would like the approval of whites, may seek membership in white social groups, may empathize with white authority figures, may consider themselves as a "we" group with most Americans on particular issues such as opposition to communism, have adopted and understood some aspects of white culture, are able to act in white ways as a manipulatory technique in certain situations, desire American material objects, and often compare themselves with whites. After the members of the village understood the kind of information I was seeking, individuals would come and tell me themselves if they were preparing their children for a life in the Indian or the white way. One middle-aged widow came over to our home and announced, "I don't want my kids to lose their language. They speak Hidatsa and I teach them the Indian ways."

The following conversation with Oliver Brown, a twenty-six year old veteran, and his wife, Marie, occurred toward the end of my field trip and clearly indicates that the Brown family are raising their children to emulate whites and to reject Indian ways. I knew the family well enough to take notes during the interview and reproduce them below, almost verbatim. The interview was one of a series in which I asked the parents of all the English-speaking families why they decided to teach English to their children when others in the village were taught and spoke Hidatsa. Oliver has just started in the cattle business and already has sixty-five head. Theirs is the only Indian home in Lone Hill with a bottle gas refrigerator, stove, deep freeze, and oil heater. They now have four children; a boy of three, another of two, and twin girls less than a year old. On this occasion, Oliver was watching the children, I was seated at the kitchen table, while Marie was washing the dinner dishes. I started the conversation by asking what language they had first learned at home.

MARIE: My mother used to tell us kids about Indian ways but we learned English first, and I never picked up Hidatsa good.

OLIVER: [directing his remarks to me] When kids are brought up to speak Hidatsa they have a hard time in school. I learned Hidatsa and Mandan first, both together, and then English in school. And I had a tough time of it at Marty [an off-reservation Catholic boarding school]. I felt out of place there. My kids will be brought up to speak English, strictly English.

MARIE: But they are Indians and it's in them and they will learn Indian.

OLIVER: [in an impatient tone to his wife] I don't care if they never learn to speak Indian. The Indian language don't get them no place or anything higher. [Oliver turned to me] I want my kids to get an education and make a good living some day. They'll have to mix among the whites and go to school among the whites outside. For their own good, not for my good, I want them to mix with whites and not be among Indians.

BRUNER: After your boys finish school, do you think they might want to come back here and work in your cattle business?

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

177 OLIVER: They could if I build it up. But they would make a better living if they get an education and get out and not stay around here.

861 BRUNER: Why don't you want them to be among Indians?

181 OLIVER: As long as they make a good living it doesn't make any difference if they mix with Indians or whites.

● 124 MARIE: As long as they mix with the right kind of people!

OLIVER: [to his wife] Education is the whole thing. If they have an education they will mix with the right kind of people, that's understood.

BRUNER: Who are the right kind of people?

OLIVER: The people that try to get somewhere, that want to make an easier living for themselves, that build up and save. Take John and Bill Fast Leg. They're good for nothing. They don't care about anything. They just live; tomorrow is just another day for them.

[At this point we had a long discussion of particular people in Lone Hill to determine exactly who the Browns considered to be the right kind of people—those with whom they would like to see their children associate. The right kind of people were the children of the group that the Browns currently associate with—acculturated people like themselves. When the unacculturated Rainbow family was mentioned, I remarked that their daughter, Flora Rainbow, had never said one word to either my wife or myself, even though we had visited her house many times and were friendly with her parents. To this Oliver made the following comment.]

OLIVER: That's because they're too backward. They don't care to associate except with their own class. Flora won't even talk to Marie! They were brought up that way; it's in their blood, I guess. They were brought up with the Indian language and never heard an English word until they were seven years old. That's what that does!

MARIE: When you visit there you don't feel welcome. I never felt at ease with them.

OLIVER: They're just backward.

MARIE: That's why we want our kids to go out and mix. If they stayed here they would be just like them.

177 The future state envisioned by the Browns, in which they see their children as accepted members of white society, may or may not become an actuality. My data indicate that the total process of acculturation, from the mixed marriage to the time individuals drift off to seek their places in white society, takes three, four, or more generations for completion (cf. Keesing 1954:90; Hallowell 1952:106). In Oliver Brown's case, his grandfather was a white man, a Civil War deserter who married an Indian woman, and his father, Jim Brown, was a successful farmer on the reservation. Oliver's sister, who no longer lives in Lone Hill, had this to say about their father:

177 861 Jim Brown pounded into us kids about working. Saving money and all that. Jim preaches today about white man's ways like get up in the morning like the white man does, and buying things that would get us ahead. He told us to try to finish school and go to college and get jobs outside. He taught us against donating, though he did it himself. But he always said it never got him anywhere. I don't believe in that donating stuff now. I guess it was just pounded into us.

That Jim Brown " . . . taught us against donating, though he did it himself," was found to be a pattern in all of the acculturated families. The parents raised